1: Marty--123 G-4, 5 (ca. 1913) 1913 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

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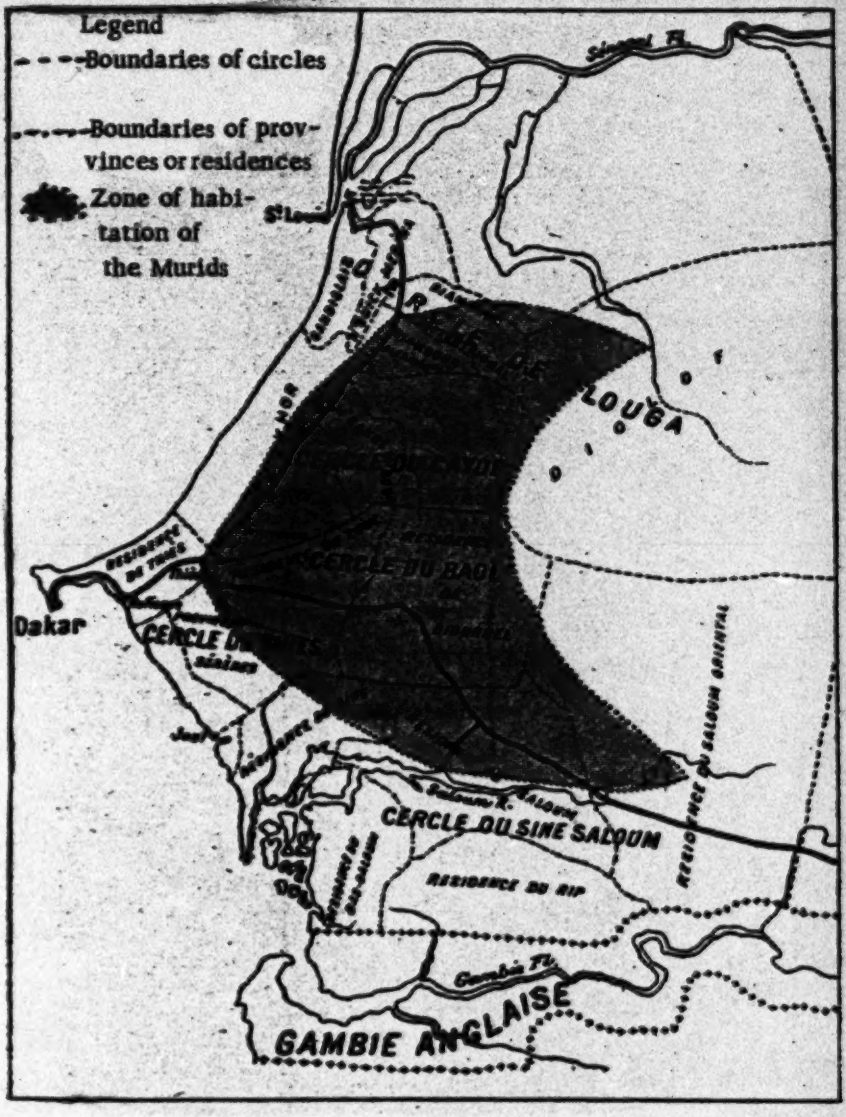
/143/

Appendix No. 1



Geographical schema of the Murid confession.

/23 cont./

793 * 795 way to a frank and full collaboration between the representatives of authority and the Murid leaders of all ranks.

* 795 ● 631 793 The effective and efficient discipline which prevails in the brotherhood permits exercising over those under its jurisdiction a kind of indirect administration, always easier to achieve than direct administration. This formula was used especially from 1940 to 1946 when it was a question of producing the utmost quantities of groundnuts. This collaboration between the Murid marabouts and the Governors did away with many reticences and prejudices and had the result of increasing the prestige and influence of the former, not only within the brotherhood, but also in all of Senegal.

793 * 795 652 631 Today this collaboration perhaps has a few more nuances, but it remains important. Relations between the heads of administrative divisions and the Murid marabouts are always very polite and very close; the marabouts receive sizable economic and financial aid from the Administration. The Sociétés de [654] Prévoyance /Welfare Societies/ advance them large tonnages of groundnut seed. Then again, short-term and long-term agricultural credits are granted to them, either for putting into good condition each of the agricultural fields (wintering credits) or to allow them to modernize or mechanize their cultivation; finally, administrative subsidies are also given for the construction of the Mosque of Touba. On the other hand, the marabouts preach to their talibés respect for established authority /24/ and call upon them to do their duty vis-à-vis Administration, notably in whatever concerns the payment of taxes and the reimbursements for the seed to the Sociétés de Prévoyance.

* 795 162 The Murids thus have an important place in the life of Senegal. Their number is estimated at 400,000, which represents a quarter of the Islamized population of the territory. One quarter of the brotherhood is established in the circle of Diourbel and two other quarters are distributed in the regions adjacent to the circles of Kaolack, Thiés, Louga, and Linguère, that is to say, the Murids have remained closely grouped around [793] their land of origin, Baol. They live there for the most part in

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

that belongs to us, our occupation should be limited to those parts necessary for assuring the suppression of brigandage, the freedom of trade and the tranquillity of an industrious population.

The land cultivated by them will provide produce which will become the object of lucrative trade for the European, the only kind of work he can undertake in this climate.

By 1865 the colony of Senegal comprised 150,000 inhabitants of whom only some 15,000, living in the original French settlements of St. Louis and Gorée-Dakar, were French citizens. Indeed this number was not to increase noticeably until the end of the century, since the privileges granted to those Africans under French rule in 1848 were never extended to the interior. For whilst Faidherbe pursued a policy of assimilation in the main centres like St. Louis, Gorée and Dakar, he initiated the basis of a system of administration for what was to become the rest of modern Senegal and French black Africa as a whole that was distinctly non-assimilationist. The laws for the *sujets* or those who did not enjoy the rights of French citizens were particularly harsh. They were not allowed to leave the colony, they had no right of meeting or association, and they were subjected to the corvée or forced labour on the maintenance of roads. To obtain this forced labour Faidherbe relied on the chiefs, and indeed one of the main criticisms of him as an exponent of assimilationism is that he leaned so heavily on both the chiefs and Islam. The treaty made by Jauréguiberry (acting-Governor whilst Faidherbe was on leave in 1865) with Abdoul Boubaker of Toro was far removed from the principles of assimilation: 'Art. 2—The Toro will continue to administer itself according to its own laws, traditions and customs.'

The overthrow of the Second Empire and the establishment of the Third Republic in 1870 was to see lukewarm reaffirmation of principles of the revolution and a consequent return to assimilationist principles at least in the political field. In 1871 Senegal regained her deputy. More

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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641 648 [643] An interesting sidelight on the confused French attitude towards assimilation and Africans was the status accorded to Blaise Diagne as Commissioner of the Republic in charge of conscription of troops in West Africa. He was given rank equal to that of the Governor-General, Van Vollenhoven, who thereat resigned. However this is only one side of the story. The French insist that he resigned because he felt that the large number of troops to be recruited would wreck the colony's economy and severely reduce the indigenous population. Nevertheless the presence of an African deputy for Senegal was not viewed well in all quarters. But Diagne could not be tempted by high office outside the parliamentary sphere and won a resounding victory in the 1919 elections [666] with 7,444 votes to his opponent's 1,252. He was then appointed Under Secretary of States for Colonies. His essential attachment to France was clear, for whilst in 1919 he became President of the Pan-African Congress, which urged that ultimately 'Africa should be ruled by consent of the Africans . . .' he refused, as Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff have pointed out 'to support any revolutionary theories as to the emancipation of all Negro peoples'. 'We French natives', he said, 'wish to remain French, since France has given us every liberty'.

646 633 The French were still not happy about the position of the *originaires* and in 1920, not so much from a show of liberalism as from a desire to reduce the pressures exercised on the Administration by the twenty-member General Council, it was translated into a Colonial Council with an increased membership of forty-four of which twenty were sent by the hitherto unrepresented Protectorate. The representatives [631] of the *sujets*, who were provincial or cantonal chiefs, could be relied on to vote with the Administration whose agents they were, and thus reduce the independence of the communes. In 1925, however, the number of chiefs was reduced to sixteen and the citizens' representatives increased to twenty-four as a means of persuading them to vote larger

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

taxes, but thereafter relations between chiefs and Government on the one hand and citizens on the other were rarely cordial.

The powers of the Council were very restricted, having legislative rights over minor matters like the classification of roads and the management of public properties. Even these limited powers were subject to the veto of the Governor-General of French West Africa. Its main deliberative competence was over the budget, which though drawn up by the Governor could be criticised by the councillors. This power was watered down by the classification of a large section of the budget as obligatory expenditure. Nevertheless the council was an exceptional institution in West Africa. As R. L. Buell in his *The Native Problem in Africa* wrote:

> That the eight Europeans who participated in the Council should have exactly the same status as the thirty-two blacks is a situation which would strike the Anglo-Saxon as anomalous to say the least. The visitor to the Council will frequently witness a black president calling a European member to order for rowdiness. It does not appear, however, that the council is divided upon racial lines, i.e. of white versus black, except on the issue of higher pay for European officials—a policy which was, in fact, attacked as vigorously by the Europeans as by the native members. The real alignment so far has been the citizen members—both black and European—against the government supported by the chiefs. Black members as we have seen, have unmercifully criticised officials in Senegal. No British colony would tolerate the attacks which the natives make upon European officials in Senegal.

Buell pin-pointed a growing division in the territory—that between the *originaires* and the *sujets* of the Protectorate. The *originaires*, especially since the election of one of their own number as deputy, became increasingly jealous of their privileges. Meanwhile the rest of the territory was administered according to the same principles of administration as were applied throughout the rest of West Africa. Though traditional chiefs were stripped of their traditional powers

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 [631] they were made agents of the Administration and responsible for the enforcement of the corvée when required. The harshness of this authoritarian rule, escaped only by the *evolués* in the other territories, has been vividly described by Geoffrey Gorer in *Africa Dances*, which records a long tour made through French West Africa in the mid-thirties. Even so in 1930 France had signed the Geneva Act forbidding forced labour in the colonies; but it was slow to disappear. In 1937 the right to form trade unions, which hitherto was only granted to Senegalese citizens by a law of 1920, was extended in a restricted form to the *sujets*. That same year a new decree allowed easier conditions for the acquisition of French citizenship by the *sujets*. Out of a population of 1,800,000 in 1936 there were 78,000 citizens compared with some 2,400 in the rest of French West Africa. And in 1939 the *sujets* were granted the right of electing some of their representatives to the Colonial Council instead of being represented only by nominees of the Administration.

[466] [467] [666]

641 648 This newly acquired right was enjoyed for a very brief period. For in 1940 the authoritarian element in France came to the fore in particularly unhappy circumstances with the fall of France and the establishment of the Vichy Government. Under the Vichy regime, racism manifested itself openly for the first time. This was particularly embittering for the Senegalese élite since they had been much in sympathy with the Popular Front Government which attempted liberal experiments in Algeria and Syria. All Senegalese representative institutions were suppressed. Priority was given to Europeans in rationed goods and in many other spheres. Liberty of association was withdrawn from both races, and whilst European members of the resistance were rarely hanged, Africans themselves rarely escaped the supreme penalty. By contrast in France the future President of Senegal, Léopold Sédar Senghor, was fighting in the French resistance and was later interned in a German concentration camp.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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The French sociologist Mercier has already remarked the fundamental homogeneity of Senegal's main ethnic groups, which 'Whatever their cultural differences and whatever their traditional hostility to one another (which has by no means completely disappeared) all had the same type of social and political organisation.'

Of the major groups the Wolof and the Lebou are for all intents and purposes indistinguishable, the Lebou being the Wolof-speaking inhabitants of the Cape Verde peninsula. The Serer are also very closely related to the Wolof, being considered as tribal cousins. The Toucouleur, Serer and Fula are traditionally connected, it being held that the Toucouleur are the result of an ancient mixing between the Serers, with whom they have a strong joke-relationship, and the Fulas whose language is very close to their own. Thus nearly three-quarters of the population have closer historical and ethnic connexions than exist in any other area of West Africa save Hausaland in Northern Nigeria. With the exception of the Serers, of whom a substantial minority is Christian, these people are almost exclusively Muslim. They also tend today to use Wolof as a lingua franca. Even the Diola, from the Casamance, which is in many ways a minority area of Senegal, especially because it is cut off from the north by the Gambia, have strong traditional connexions with the Serer and assert in effect that they are descended from the same ancestor. This leaves only the Mandingo people out of the pattern and as we shall see they do tend to be a minority group in Senegal.

There is thus at the basis of Senegalese society an indigenous homegeneity that is nothing to do with the French policy of assimilation, and which has been greatly encouraged by a common adherence to Islam, where Marabouts or religious leaders of one tribe have considerable influence over Muslims of other ethnic origins.

The French administration, however, through its policy of direct rule did in fact make one major contribution towards

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

184 563 [631] this homogeneity by reducing the traditional authority of the chiefs who more than anyone else are responsible for the preservation of ethnic differences, in being the repositories of tribal customs.

For Senegal as a whole, this homogeneity does not go beyond similarities in socio-political structure, a common adherence to Islam, uniformity in styles of dress, a tradition of common relationship and a growing use of Wolof as a lingua franca. Only in the larger towns has there been 563 [369] any general break-down of traditional tribal barriers and only in the town does one find a high incidence of inter-ethnic habitation and, more important still, inter-ethnic marriage. And since it was mainly in the towns that the French applied their policy of assimilation it is reasonable to assume that there is probably some correlation between the two. In the first place the French in Senegal have always tended to think of the local inhabitants as Senegalese rather than Wolof or Serer, which runs contrary to the common European attitude to ethnic divisions, particularly in British territories where the tendency was always to emphasise the tribal origin of an African rather than the colony in which he lived. Indeed the British administrators, as Lord Lugard himself observed, were always great partisans of particular ethnic groups. Such an attitude, however, has not always been absent in Senegal. For instance Mercier has remarked that certain European foremen in factories tended to choose workers of the same ethnic group in order to avoid possible friction, but he adds that this was not always justified.

563 619 [369] In the *Quatre Communes*, which for a long time *were* Senegal as far as the French were concerned, the inhabitants came to accept from early on the idea of being Senegalese as well as Wolof and Serers. Or they might have thought of themselves parochially as St. Louisiens or Dakarois. With their elected deputy, their *Conseil-Général*, and their municipal councils, the Senegalese crossed early on the barrier between tribalism and nationalism, a result for which other African

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
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equal status to all Senegalese and wanted to make everyone true Senegalese citizens whether they were griots, leather-workers or jewellers. Afterwards the non-griots agreed that the griots who had just died should be buried 'in the same way as anyone else, and as a beginning they agreed to let the burial of the victim of the incident take place, not in the traditional baobab but in Diack earth.'

In the Government today there are, amongst those members belonging to tribes with a class system only two of inferior caste, one being a 'bijoutier' and one a griot. It is said of another that he is of slave origin, but this is not certain because politicians often try to attribute inferior caste to their opponents. In the Assembly, of the members with caste all are noble or freeborn with the exception of one 'bijoutier', and one griot. It is thus at present difficult to get on in politics unless one is noble or freeborn. Indeed chiefly connexion is important, even though chiefs are no longer of significance administratively. Thus in 1957 Kenneth Robinson wrote:

> Membership of chiefly families is, nevertheless, an important source not only of prestige but of political interest. In many interviews with political leaders in the smaller townships and villages they almost invariably defined their own position, and that of their fellows, in part by reference to their relationship with the ruling families, or with the indigenous caste system.

Mr. William Foltz, who is making a detailed survey of Senegalese politics, has however observed that the local party groups in the country are increasingly representative of the inferior castes and many of the important backroom boys are of inferior caste, which suggests that there may be a change from the present situation at the next elections. But so far, as Mercier has observed, it does not look as though high standing in the modern context can yet completely redeem traditional inferiority.

The caste system in Senegal is one of the most delicate problems confronting the Senegalese Government today.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

spent most of his time on the rehabilitation of African history.

Of course there would be considerable justification for such criticisms if Senghor and his Government were not in fact getting down to the fundamental reorganisation of Senegal. Already since the days of the French, the whole country has undergone a complete administrative transformation. Before independence the country was divided into *cercles* and *subdivisions*, under French and occasionally African administrators, and *cantons*, run by traditional chiefs as agents of the administration. This structure has been completely changed to give the administration and therefore the Government closer contact with the people. Previously the traditional chief, albeit an agent of the administration, was interposed between the administrator and his people. Now that the *chef de canton* has been eliminated and the *canton* has been redesignated as an *arrondissement*, presided over by an administrative official, working under the *commandant de cercle*, the Government has rid the country of what the Minister of Interior, Valdiodio N'Diaye, has described as an anachronistic institution. The *cercles* are grouped into seven regions, each with its Governor and regional assembly, which deliberates on the regional budget. These seven regions have been laid out so as to correspond with the major economic zones of the country, making concessions only to ethnic factors and problems of communications. The whole field administration outside headquarters has been completely Africanised since July 1960, though there are many Europeans serving as 'technical advisers' in the Government in Dakar.

But most important of all is the proposed four-year development plan for the Senegal which envisages a major revolution in the education, health and economy of the country. This plan was drawn up after nearly eighteen months of intensive research in Senegal by the Révérend Père Lebret, and his team of European and African researchers. The whole plan was directed by Mamadou Dia,

6:Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

standing in the modern context does not often completely redeem a traditional inferiority. The latter obviously does not prevent accession to such rank, but it does prevent a man from reaping the full benefit of the prestige which it confers. We shall have to revert to the ambiguity which thus characterizes individual situations, because it is an important aspect of the problem of the modernist elites. The old political organizations have either been destroyed or considerably weakened, though the prestige of the aristocratic families who hold the chefferies or are closely connected with them has not completely disappeared. But an important change has occurred: the power and influence of the traditional political chiefs has to a large extent been transferred to the khalifas of the great Islamic sects;[1] the latter represent today the principal force capable of resisting the modernist elite, and the one with which the latter and the political movements identified with it must to some extent come to terms.[2]

The changes due to the new economic conditions resulting from the colonial period can be discerned at several levels. The rural economy has been radically transformed—progressive abandonment of subsistence farming in favour of a single cash crop throughout a large part of the territory.[3] In contrast with regions where a plantation economy has developed, the average farmer's income has remained extremely low. Consequently, what has elsewhere been termed a 'rural bourgeoisie' has not emerged, and the most favoured economic categories coincide, by and large, with the upper strata of the traditional or semi-traditional type (heads of sects),[4] or with those artificially created on the same model by the colonial administration. Again, the group to which the name 'commercial bourgeoisie' has been given is still too small to have much influence;[5] almost all African traders are small shopkeepers and make no appreciable impact on the affairs of the community as a whole. The most significant changes are found at another level: urbanization and industrialization. Senegal is the most highly urbanized territory of French West Africa; about a quarter of the population live in the big towns and the administrative and trading centres. A very large wage-earning class with a steadily growing nucleus of stable labour has developed.[6] A workers' elite has appeared, and intensive trade union activity in the big towns has brought this class into touch with the educated elite (the administrative bourgeoisie, etc.).

This educated elite deserves special attention; in Senegal more than elsewhere, it represents the dominant element among the modernist elites. The educational policy was definitely conceived and organized at the beginning of the colonial period in the context of a policy and a ideology of assimilation. The educational curriculum introduced in the French establishments in Senegal at the beginning of the nineteenth century was essentially foreign to the tradition and culture of the autochthonous societies. Thus, in a recent paper, the author made much of the point that 'it was not a factor making for integration of the individual in his group, but rather—at any rate in the first historical phase—one making for a break. The adaptation of the curriculum and even of teaching methods

1. Their functions are hereditary.
2. Cf. below, remarks on the political parties of the traditional type.
3. In this case, groundnuts.
4. The economic role of the Mouride brotherhood is particularly important: colonization of new lands, experiments in mechanization, etc.
5. The middle-man trade is practically monopolized by the Lebanese colony; in the town of Dakar alone there are more than 5,000 Lebanese.
6. The region of Dakar alone has more than 30,000 wage earners in the private sector.

[10 cont.]

369 533 The griots, those "vipers' tongues," have put together new songs in order to make up for the loss of the spoils of war never to be hoped for again. Without exaggeration or error, one [583] can assert that the very high cost of the marriage expenses is due only to the griots, who, using their malevolent genius, contrast in their chants the generosity of such and such a man with the parsimony of the other, spicing all the praises with references to his always legendary and generous ancestors.

369 583 To dazzle the girl and her relatives with his generosity and his wealth, to wrest from the rivals acknowledgment of their poverty, to overwhelm with goods persons of inferior castes whose praises will never cease, to enrich the prestige and the dignity of his parents-in-law -- there is the origin of the enormous expenses which must be faced by those who marry in Saint-Louis.

The phases of Marriage and their cost

369 565 584 [584] This is not the place to show what role the girl plays in the act which is going to decide her life. Nevertheless, let us be permitted to affirm that today some freedom is permitted the girl in choosing a spouse, always with the condition that her choice must be a man of her rank. Native society is, in effect, compartmented, and the smith, the jeweler, the cobbler, the griot never becomes attached to a guer (2) woman with the

2. All the persons who do not belong to an inferior caste -- griot, cobbler, etc. Not to be confused with gor, free man, who is not a slave or a freed man.

permission of his parents. Conversely, the guer must remain in his domain, and the custom which formerly authorized the [631] chiefs to contract marriages with caste women, always under the pretense of conquest in battle, is tending to disappear.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

At this stage no French taxation was imposed. Faidherbe was the first to insist that the election of any chiefs must be subject to his approval, and from this time onwards the French hold gradually grew tighter. As the French historian Sabatié has put it:

> 'These treaties guaranteed the political organization, the religion, customs, institutions, and laws of the native country concerned. They were designed to ensure the security of our commerce and respect for the property of our nationals and our subjects, and they stipulated, by way of compensation, the collection of certain taxes on cattle and exported products for the benefit of chiefs. As a result of the evolution of the colony and its economic and administrative necessities, the clauses and obligations of these treaties have lapsed.'

The system lasted until towards the end of the nineteenth century; but from that time onwards native powers, especially over judicial matters, land, and tribute, have been gradually curtailed. Native chiefs have become agents appointed by the Government, and native administrative institutions have almost everywhere been deliberately abolished. This policy has its roots not only in administrative convenience but also in a strong sense of duty to the individual native and a desire to protect him from misrule.

The Modern Constitution

Until 1920 the four communes of Dakar, Goree, Rufisque, and St. Louis were described as the territory under direct administration, the remainder of the colony as a protectorate. In that year the distinction, which had long been one without a difference, was formally abolished.

Senegal, being the oldest colony, contains about a quarter of the whole European population of French West Africa. It also contains a larger proportion of educated and politically minded natives than the other colonies, and its constitution is more democratic. This last fact is mainly due to the equalitarian doctrines of the July Monarchy at the time when the personal status of Senegalese native citizens and their rights as Frenchmen were determined. In 1833 the French Parliament enacted that any person born free, or having legally acquired his liberty, enjoyed in the French colonies both civil and political rights under conditions prescribed by law. In 1848, therefore, when the colony first acquired the right to send a deputy to the French Parliament, natives born in the French settlements of Goree, Rufisque, and St. Louis, the only French soil in Senegal at the time, became entitled to the Parliamentary vote and to all the

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS37

taxes and all items of the Colonial Budget not fixed by the Governor-General.

Article 40 of the decree of 1920 forbade any deliberation of political matters and any resolution concerning them. The power to discuss the budget, however, has nullified this prohibition, and criticism of the Government plays a considerable part in the Council's debates. The citizens are usually more independent than the chiefs, since the latter owe their appointments to the Governor. It is too early to judge the effect of the recent addition of subjects.

It will be clear from the foregoing that this Colonial Council performs a very useful function. Although it cannot bring the machinery of government to a standstill, it can seriously hamper the administration. In consequence Senegal has a greater tincture of democracy than any other colony.

Territorial Divisions

The colony is divided into fifteen provinces (Fig. 52), some of them subdivided into districts. Their names and the names of their headquarters towns are as follows.

Province	*Headquarters*	*Area in square miles*	*District headquarters*
Bakel	Bakel	8,755	..
Baol	Diourbel	1,714	..
Bas Sénégal	St. Louis	2,351	Dagana
Bignona	Bignona	1,699	Diouloulou
Djoloff	Linguére	6,275	..
Haute Gambie	Kédougou	5,212	..
Kolda	Kolda	5,599	..
Louga	Louga	3,886	..
Matam	Matam	10,116	..
Podor	Podor	4,857	..
Sedhiou	Sedhiou	2,703	..
Sine-Saloum	Kaolack	10,228	Fatik, Foundiougne, Kaffrine
Tambacounda	Tambacounda	9,998	..
Thiès	Thiès	2,707	M'Bour, Tivaouane
Ziguinchor	Ziguinchor	1,120	Oussouye

The four provinces of Bignona, Kolda, Sedhiou, and Ziguinchor are grouped together as the Casamance Territory, at the head of which is a Session Administrator, or Chief Commissioner, residing at Ziguinchor.

In almost all provinces the provincial Commissioner is assisted by a Council of Notables (Plate 113).

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M837 Senegal MS 37

Courts of Law

692 The Court of Assize sits at Dakar, and the Tribunals of First Instance sit at Dakar, Kaolack, and St. Louis. There is a Magistrate's Court at Ziguinchor, and there are Moslem Courts at Dakar, Rufisque, and St. Louis. In each province and full commune there are the usual native courts, and the Colonial Court of Appeal for Senegal sits at St. Louis. There is a separate one for the District of Dakar.

In addition to the local courts, the West African Court of Appeal and the Supreme Native Court of Appeal are both held at Dakar.

Native Organization

●631 177 All the old chiefdoms and kingdoms have now disappeared. On the other hand, owing to their representation on the Colonial Council, chiefs in Senegal to-day exercise greater influence than in other colonies. They are appointed and paid by the Government, and they can usually be relied on to supply an official majority. In 1925 they induced the Government to raise their salaries, which now range from 7,600 francs to 36,500 francs per annum. The chiefs are divided into no less than twelve grades. Most of them have [871] been educated at the École des Fils des Chefs et des Interprètes at St. Louis.

Land Tenure

423 By 31 December 1937 provisional concessions had been granted over an area of 12 square miles and concessions over 15 square miles. By the same date there had been granted under the immatriculation system 9,630 certificates of title, covering 177 square miles. Under the process of Confirmation of Native Land Rights, 40 certificates had been granted, covering 3½ square miles. These figures are very small for the size and population of the colony.

Labour

466 [646] The Colonial Council is responsible for the fact that forced labour has been redeemable by every person since 1921. This reform did not become universal in the Federation till several years later. In 1930 a resolution of the same council compelled owners of motor vehicles to lend them for work under the same system.

In 1935 there were 408,000 persons on the forced labour rolls, 1,415,000 man-days were worked, and 561,300 francs were paid in